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775

(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'liskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'liskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[101]

775

Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the soul.) It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may be taken. This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

[753] •
[761]

[101] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort.

[114]

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756
787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ŭks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with
• [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his 756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close [372] as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con- 755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

* 171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by 756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

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*171 756 From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

[881] [535] [726] [784] *171 796

*171 787 The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

*171 753

*171 756 The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

*171 756 The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

796 177

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
534 2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	3	5	6	–	–	4	5	5	4	5	3	5
[758] 2089. Used by shaman in curing	•	–	–	–	•	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
[787] 2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
[891] 2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
[535] 2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[72] 2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[796] 2101. For Ghost dance	•	–	R	–		R		R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[981] 2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	•	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[528] 2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
[789] 2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[753] 2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[756] 2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562] 2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
[562] 2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•	+	•	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	.	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	+
4500. Disease brushed off body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+		+	+
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													-		+	+
4505. Can kill disease objects	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		+	+
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+		-	-
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		+	+
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		-	-
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	-	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-
Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena																
Cosmogony																
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-	+	.	.	.
4513. Supported by animal	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	.	.	.
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	-				(+)	-	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+
Sun and Moon																
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	(+)	.
4519. Sun female human	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	(+)	.
4521. Moon female human	-	-	.	+	-	(+)	.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.
4523. Frog mate of moon	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	(+)	-	-	-	.
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	+	-	-	.
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	-	-	.	-	-	-	.
4526. Man	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.
4527. Tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.
4528. Frog	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
New Moon																
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	+	+	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
4531. Each month	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
4532. In winter, only											+	-	-	-	-	-
4533. In spring, chiefly	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
4534. Speak, pray to moon	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4537. Throw stones at moon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								•	•	•	+	-	+	-	+	-

755
767
278
751
753
773
821

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[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *659 795 177 178 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washington. The leaders who came down worked over him for some time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers became firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine. Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

• [153]

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

*539 755 Wudoká hushtsóχa sha kíuksas sálχitnuk k̲lékshtˌ húnk snawédshash.
Struck (and) killed they the conjurer for being bewitched (and) having died this woman.

627 Tsúi sa lúluksla snawédsh kíuksam síuks; hû'nk sa kíuksas ä'mpĕle
And cremated the woman by the conjurer killed; him they the conjurer brought back

tchī'shtal, tsúi sa lúluksla mák̲laks. 3
to (his) lodge, and cremated (him) the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [177] 68, 1. mā'ntch-gi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or [753] other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki ging and shukpalítki ging; cf. shû'kpĕli.

68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle [192] [193] "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'ksh, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.